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Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine**ANTE PAVELIC: CASE STUDY OF CULTUROPATHY AND SOCIOPATHIES OF IDENTITY
(VISUAL-ANALYTICAL PORTRAIT). PART 1**

The purpose of the article is a visual-analytical portrayal of the personality of Ante Pavelić in the context of the cultural and socio-systemological theory of cultural pathologies and sociopathies of identity. As a result of the study, it was concluded that Pavelić's ethnopolitics, genocidal rhetoric towards the Serbs, as well as the encouraged practices of serbicide reveal a pronounced despotism, necrophilia, a steady predominance of affects of destructive hatred and envy towards ethnic competitors, as well as his real attitude towards the Ustaše, left to the mercy of fate by him to be torn to pieces by the communists while fleeing from Croatia with all the loot, reveals his significant moral defectiveness, as well as gives reason to interpret it as a derivative of the corresponding cultural pathologies and sociopathies of identity.

Key words: identity, cultural and social systemology, visual analytics, sociology of international relations, identity cultural pathologies, identity sociopathies.

Problem formulation, purpose of the article and presentation of the main provisions. Ethnic and national communities that have experienced multiple occupations in their history often experience the post-colonial problem of forming a homogeneous and stable identity. The homogeneity and stability of their identity is reflected, first of all, by the experience of numerous defeats in competition with the victorious ethnic groups, which demonstrate to the defeated their comprehensive humiliation and dependence on their power. Long-term humiliation and dependence of an ethnic group, while concealing malice and anger as reactive social emotions in relation to the repressor, become factors in the formation of identity cultural pathologies.

Culturopathy of identity, among which the most common in this context are diffusion, splitting and fragmentation, can manifest themselves in the form of sociopathic and psychopathic consequences, that is, sociopathies and psychopathy, in particular, negative ethnic narcissism, reaching its climax in ethnocides, torture, despotic reprisals against representatives of a hostile ethnic group. The leading factor for determining the despotism of the system created by the state-forming ethnos in such cases is the number of spontaneous (non-procedural) repressions against the victim ethnos. The latter include both extra-procedural violence (which in itself is already a hallmark of despotism) and the use of torture technologies of labor mobilization [33, 240].

The personality of Ante Pavelic is the material for the case-study of socio-systemological and visual-analytical research. This research is preceded by an extensive scientific and journalistic literature. Sources concerning both the personality of Pavelić and the Independent Croatian State cover four groups:

1) Monographs and textbooks on Balkan topics, in particular – the history of the southern Slavs, Yugoslavia, Croatia as an ethnic and territorial-political community. The first group of works is relevant for understanding the external influence on the Croatian identity of neighboring empires (Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires and their occupations), interethnic contradictions, the ideology of pancroatism, and so on. The described topics and problems are presented in the works of K. Nikiforov, S. Romanenko, V. Freidzon, T. Markus [14-16; 28-30; 41];

2) Monographs, textbooks, scientific articles devoted to the subject of the fascist movement in general, Croatian Nazism (Ustasha) and the biography of Ante Pavelić in particular. This group of works is thematically focused on understanding the historical background of the Ustašist movement, the features of its political struggle and coming

to power, the genocidal practices of the Independent Croatian State, the reconstruction of the identities of the poglavnik, etc. The described topics and problems are presented in the works of S. Belyakov, M. Budak, M. Kozhemyakin, J. Peyin, A. Proidakov and Yu. Suvorov, R. Romov, O. Zaitsev, N. Bartulin, A. Delich [3-6; 9-11; thirteen; 25; 28; 32; 34-35];

3) Historical and political journalism devoted to particular aspects of Pavelić's political career and personal behind the scenes. This group also includes video materials in English, Russian, Croatian, which present the history of the Pavelić family and his political environment, describe psychological features, deviations of Pavelić, etc. [33; 36-40; 42-43].

The theoretical positions and historical facts presented in the works above allowed the author to synthesize them on the basis of cultural and social systemology and visual analytics to identify the identities of Ante Pavelić as a leader of a despotic type who created a puppet externally controlled state with concomitant Italian and German occupation. The cultural and sociopathic character of Pavelić's personality are considered as derivatives of diffusion, splitting, fragmentation of Croatia's macroidentity and its historiogenesis, which is reflected in the monographs and articles of the author of this study and works written under his scientific supervision [12; 17-24].

The purpose of the article is a visual-analytical portrayal of the personality of Ante Pavelić as a recursion of the ethnopolitics of the Independent Croatian State and its despotic genocidal practices.

The differential criterion of despotisms and dictatorships is the connection of the former with the irrational (emotionally-contaminating) component of the usual instruments of coercion. The malignant narcissistic deficiency of despots and despotoids is reflected in the selection of the appropriate environment. Proud, humiliated, envious, angry and vindictive, being weak, they select for themselves complementary retinues that relay destructive narcissistic projections in contact macroenvironments. This destructiveness becomes a marker for committing crimes against a competing ethnic group with particular cruelty, sophistication, in relation to the weak and unprotected.

In this aspect, the Balkans represented an anomic transit corridor at the beginning of the 20th century. The prerequisites for the formation of the latter were internal colonization and occupation, the incompleteness of the formation of modern capitalist structures, the repressive ethnopolitics of the metropolises, which created tension among the autochthonous population of certain

communities. Croatia shared all the identified problems, which later grew into a regional scale in the short period of the Independent State of Croatia under the leadership of Ante Pavelic. The traces of crimes discovered after the destruction by the Ustaše of Jasenovac demonstrate the correctness of both Pavelić's terrorist organization and his very social and mental diagnosis of primitive despotic psychopathy.

Value (religious, philosophical, ideological, moral and legal) identities. Within the framework of the concept of our study, psychopathy is a continuation (recursion) of the corresponding sociopathies and cultural pathologies. In previously published works, the author made attempts to build a typology of cultural pathologies and sociopathies in relation to Ukraine, which, in terms of a number of cultural and social features, is quite close to the corresponding communities and societies of the former Yugoslavia and multiple post-Yugoslav republics that arose in the early 2000s due to the well-known Balkan crisis. Common for Ukraine and Croatia, due to a number of common historical circumstances of the formation of the social order, are cultural pathologies of "culture in culture", which include:

A) diffusion. The blurring of the content of the centralizer with the assumption of the implementation of alien images into the cultural system, which leads to a distortion of the mission, identity and worldview of the ethnic community as a socio-forming and state-forming subject [17, 37-38];

B) splitting. In terms of content, splitting is the introduction into the axiospheres of a cultural system (religious, philosophical, ideological, socio-moral, legal, art) of non-authentic or heterogeneous meanings that violate cultural centering, verticalization and ordinalization. Splitting also implies a different cultural influence on society (in a state of broken / weakened cohesion) of other societies, which does not meet the necessary value resistance of the society itself and is not accompanied by cultural-immunizing reactions of both the intellectual elites and the masses. Splitting involves the incorporation of alien cultural meanings into the culture itself, without any attempts to integrate them, practically preserving them in their original form [17, 37-38].

By the 9th century, the Croatian duche, headed by a prince (ban), had a clan-territorial organization (gens Chroatorum) and adopted Latin Catholic Christianity. In the West, Croats were also called Slavs (Slavs) and Dalmatians (Dalmatians). The Croatian elites, represented by magnate families, were in the orbit of Hungary's external influence and were constantly subjected to pressure and the threat of absorption from the Hungarian monarchy. However, thanks to the institutions of Ban (governor) and Sabor (parliament), the Croats managed to maintain their own autonomy and the status of the historical people of the Habsburg Empire, until the transfer of the Ugrian-Croatian crown to Ferdinand Habsburg in 1527.

Koloman of Galicia (1208-1241) consolidated the results of territorial expansion in the cities of Dalmatia by placing military garrisons and Catholic monasteries. It would hardly be logical to classify such relations within the framework of ordinary occupation as equal and "federal", which, however, did not prevent later both A. Starcevic and M. Budak and Pavelic himself from developing the theory of "allied" relations between Croatia and Hungary, in whom the Croats were not a subordinate, but co-ruling ethnic group in the Austro-Hungarian Empire [29, 12-15].

Acquiring the attributes of a "historical nation", while retaining the symbols of sovereignty, ("Crown of

Zvonimir"), the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Croatia after its inclusion in the Habsburg Empire was permanently limited to both Budapest and Vienna, while Croatia retained legal and political autonomy until the end of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. Such a split identity simultaneously contributed to the emergence of ethnic pride / clerical racism in relation to "non-historical" ethnic groups (Romanians, Slavs, Slovaks, Serbs), and internal humiliation due to the failed co-optation of the magnate elite into the Austro-Hungarian monarchical elites.

Both the first and the second group of cultural pathologies substantially correspond both to the peculiarities of the Croatian culture and to the despotic psychopathy of its leader. The inculturation of the "Balkan butcher" before obtaining a doctorate in law at the Faculty of Law of Zagreb took place in the Jesuit school in Travnik, and before that – in the Muslim school (kittabe) in Jezere [41, 124], according to the authors of the script for the documentary film "Pavelić without a mask" [31]. Thus, the formation of the highest value identities of Pavelić took place initially in conditions of confusion and splitting..

The cleavage and confusion affected, first of all, the rituality of Pavelić's Christian identity, who, as a Catholic Christian, encouraged massacres, including the killing of children. The infanticide of the Ustashe, the brutal torment of children under the "supervision" of the Franciscan nuns, became illustrative of the moral and ethical degenerativeness of the headmaster. Therefore, the attempt of some politically engaged journalists and publicists to equate him with the Turkish Sultan Abdul-Hamid II (based on the similarity of Armeniacides to Serbicide) does not stand up to criticism. The reason for the insignificance of the above analogy is the fact that Abdul-Hamid, with his despotic inclinations, was a systemic politician-hierocrat who had a formed set of Islamic value identities. As a totalitarian pan-Islamist, Abdul-Hamid II used the archaic despotic strategies of integrating the Ottoman Empire, being a consistent despot based on the strategy of maneuvering between the strongest geopolitical competitors. The latter made it possible for 33 years to avoid turning the Ottoman Empire into a colonial protectorate of European states and to ensure consensus between a partially Europeanized despotic state and the ummah (Islamic community).

Critical biographers of the Sultan note that "the 33-year reign of the 'bloody Sultan', who, being convinced that, as the Prophet's viceroy, he is the sole and supreme ruler of the faithful Muslims in the entire universe, stubbornly did not want to reckon with the requirements of modern life", ended in defeat... But, "although in this unequal struggle, Abdul-Hamid did not win", "... one had to have a great mind, great willpower and outstanding talents in order to withstand it for 3 decades" [1; 2, 17].

The inconsistency of the analogy is revealed not only in the aspect of the different duration of the reign and the intensity of the agony, but also in the style, and, of course, in the results of the reign. As A. Abidullin notes, "the sultan in the eyes of his contemporaries, both in the Ottoman Empire and abroad, was a controversial figure: for some, he was a wise ruler, defender of Muslims and the foundations of the Islamic religion, for others, a "bloody" despot and paranoid, distinguished by extreme cruelty and at the same time – cowardice, for the third – a cunning politician who knew how better than anyone to play on the rivalry of the great powers. It was during his reign that the empire lost its European possessions and, in fact, the complete disappearance of control over Egypt, Tunisia and

Cyprus... Therefore... "it is absolutely illogical to identify Abdulhamid's conservatism with despotism" [2, 17].

The biggest achievements of the Sultan were the construction of the Hijaz railway, which made it possible to solve a series of nationwide problems, despite the crisis of the situation and the skeptical propaganda of Europe regarding the Ottomans: the strategic logistics of the army, the facilitation of the Hajj for pilgrims, the accompanying construction of new settlements, the opening of new jobs – all of the above directly stemmed from the appearance of the largest highway. In addition, although unsuccessful, but accomplished, it is worth recognizing the attempt to create tribal schools, reform in the army, the introduction of the Constitution and the general cultural Europeanization of Turkish life. Even against the background of corruption and ethnic cleansing, the empire nevertheless had positive achievements.

There was nothing like this in the NGH, which initially arose as a continuation of the Italian and German occupation. The regime itself was not just puppet. It turned out to be institutionally untenable due to the inability of the chief and militaristic groups subordinate to him to provide elementary coordination in the system of executive power between the Ustashe ministers, the Croatian house guards and the Ustashe militia. The Ustashe, both in the face of the army and the Ustashe militia, were engaged in unauthorized pogroms, looting, the establishment of arbitrary requisitions and banal extortion. Therefore, Croats themselves often found themselves in Jasenovac, Stara Gradishka and other concentration camps, who either tried to evade cooperation with the regime, or were wealthy enough to carry out "expropriation".

The above, however, reflected the ethnic schizophrenia of the chief and his entourage, which could not, either for themselves or for the investigators / interrogators of his war crimes, essentially answer a number of constitutive questions: 1) whether the Croats are Slavic or German ethnic group; 2) how can the foreign origin of the Croatian monarch and external influence be combined with pancroatism; 3) whether it is possible to consider the procedure of baptism and rebaptism in the aspect of freedom of conscience or state coercion; 4) how to combine the morality of Christian philanthropy with genocidal practices, etc.

And, although Pavelic in his written works and oral speeches in the press every now and then tried to introduce some kind of certainty, all these attempts ended in a fiasco due to the cultural defeat of the Ustaše leader and the movement he organized. The quasi-state formation created by Pavelich had all the signs of despotism, which was expressed:

1) in an attempt to combine over-centralization in Zagreb and the anarchy of the Ustasha leaders in the field;

2) in the arbitrariness and non-limitation of the applied repression in relation to various groups of the population, motivated by the mercenary-criminal considerations of the Ustashe;

3) inconsistency in ethnopolitics, which was accompanied by simultaneous "flirting" with confessional and ethnic groups and propaganda of ethno xenophobia and paranoia in the pancroatist style;

4) the necrophilic bravery of the Ustashe, who in practice have turned into a cluster of criminal terrorist gangs¹, disgusting even among their allies.

¹On the territory of Croatia, criminal elements positioned themselves as "wild Ustashe" and, apparently, they did not obey the

Two prominent examples of the confusion and splitting of Pavelić's ethnic identity are his ethnopolitics towards Bosnian Muslims and his attempt to restore the Zvonimir-Tomislav monarchy with the help of ... a representative of the Savoy dynasty. In the first example, the propaganda apparatus under the leadership of M. Budak spread the ethnic myth about the belonging of Bosnian Muslims to Croats (who, according to Pavelić's plan, represented one of the "Germanic" (non-Slavic) ethnic groups. Flirting with Muslims came to the decision of Pavelić to build a Muslim mosque in Zagreb, the very fact of the construction of which was supposed to demonstrate to Muslims their involvement in the NGH.

Falling into situational amnesia, Pavelić Kvaternik and Budak spread propaganda narratives among Bosnian Muslims about their belonging to the Croatian people (apparently, to his Germanic ancestors too). This, however, did not prevent the Catholics from spreading messages about the "godlessness" and "paganism" of Muslims, and the Muslims themselves, observing Pavelić's attempts to depict statehood under the arrangement of bloody orgies of the Ustaše, demand from Hitler and the Nazis a German protectorate for Muslim autonomy.

Ethnic schizophrenia, despotism and dementia of the headman, as will become clear later, determined not only his cultural and ethnic confusion between Catholicism and Islam, but also manifestations of political dementia. Poglavnik, together with his ethnically confused and split entourage, in 1942 decided to return the Orthodox Church to the NGH, placing at the head of the church ... the Russian Metropolitan Hermogenes. It is easy to guess the reaction of the Catholic and Muslim clergy, as well as the Nazi and Italian fascist politicians, to such decisions...

Having pretty much teased the Catholics with the construction project of a Muslim mosque (and forgetting, if you think about it, about the interfaith contradictions that existed between Catholics and Muslims), Pavelić continued the eccentricities of infantile psychopathy and dementia, offering the representative of the Italian royal dynasty, the Duke of Spoleto ... to restore the Croatian monarchy. Pavelich was not even embarrassed by the fact that the newly appointed monarch had to accept the crown of the Croatian monarchy not as a representative of the Italian monarchical dynasty, but as ... the Croatian ruler Tomislav II. The performance of this political circus should have been somehow legitimized, which, however, did not bother the headmaster much. The Italian on the Croatian throne, named as a Croat, did not embarrass not only Pavelić, but also the Catholic clergy loyal to him [3, 185].

In a number of studies, Pavelić is described as a conscientious Catholic, prone to regular confessions, which is worth recognizing, in combination with the strategy of the Ustashe terror, the manifestation of the hypocrisy and hypocrisy of the despot.

Pavelić's mastermind Josef Frank (1844-1911) was a German-speaking Jew, later converted to Catholicism, who later appeared in a group of Croatian nationalists along with Ante Starčević, Jevgen Kumicić and Milo Starčević and founded, after the final split of the Party of the Rights, the Pure Party of the Rights with a party daily newspaper *Hrvatsko pravo* [45].

The ideological identity of the expansive Croatian politics was represented by the myth of Croatia as the "wall of Christianity" (*Antemurale Christianitatis*), which became

"official" party vertical. Murderers, robbers and robbers carried out arbitrary reprisals against Serbs and Gypsies (see footnote below).

part of the Catholic legends of the Vatican after the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the Jesuit-Catholic myth, the border of the "two worlds" with the Turkish Empire, passing along the Una and Sava, shifted to the Drina River, the new border of the monarchy, and the antagonist of the Catholic racists again becomes (as before the Turkish invasion) Orthodox "Byzantism", territorially represented by Serbia and Montenegro.

The ideological identity described was rooted in Croatian historiography, which was later filled with "arguments" in favor of declaring Bosnia and Herzegovina "forgotten" Croatian lands. In the diffusion of ideological identity, the Ustasha propagandists went so far as to classify (despite centuries of Turkish rule) the Serb majority of the population of these provinces as Croats, while forcibly converting the latter into Catholicism. The mythology of the interpretation itself, revealing the cultural pathos of Pavelić, consisted in the fact that they were not Serbs and that the Serbian national idea was allegedly brought in from outside, along with Orthodoxy.

As S. Belyakov notes, "in the interpretation of the Croatian identity, A. Starcevic stood on pan-Croatian positions, believing that the entire population of the lands between Slovenia and Bulgaria, between the Danube and the Adriatic belongs to the Croatian nation. The bearers of the Serbian national identity, as well as the Croatian Yugoslavs, are Slavo-Serbs, traitors who have renounced their native Croatian name. Thus, Serbophobia has become the most important component of the ideology of Croatian ethnic nationalism [4, 17].

It is no coincidence that the researcher uses the concept of "ethnic nationalism" to determine the ideological identity of the Ustaše, including Pavelić. However, it seems to us more adequate to describe the Ustasha ideology as a criminal-terrorist separatism with separate "blotches" of the decorum of religious-Catholic elements and the preservation of the technologies of non-institutional reprisal against opponents, familiar to any criminal organization, in the first place – uncriterial (non-procedural) massacres with special cruelty. The ideological foundation of Pavelić's pan-Croatism can be considered his historical and value-ideological disidentification of Croats and South Slavs (with the understanding of any communitarian projects as imported from Moscow, Belgrade and Prague). On the other hand, Pavelić shared the so-called Gothic theory of the origin of the Croats by K. Shegovich, according to which the Croats ethnically did not belong to the Slavs, but to the Slavicized Goths, i.e. were part of the German world.

The same confusion reigned in the question of the re-baptism of "ethnically inferior Serbs", who in the Ustasha doctrine were presented as "Serbized Croats" converted to Orthodoxy as a result of the "terror of the Greek-Eastern priests", in the words of the Minister of Justice Pavelić Mirko Puk. Pavelić was little embarrassed by the fact that, in parallel with his position expressed in his speech about the inadmissibility of discord on a religious basis, the Franciscan priests continued ethnic massacres on confessional grounds.

The general diffusion of identity occurred in Pavelić both under the influence of Frank, Starčević, and the family of his wife Maria (Mary) Lavrenčević. R. West writes about Pavelić that "like many rabid Croatian (and Serbian) nationalists, he was from the harsh mountains of Herzegovina, where Muslims, Catholics and Orthodox have long lived side by side in eternal fear and mutual suspicion. "A pure-blooded Croat, both in name and origin," wrote one of his sycophantic churchmen in 1942, describing how

Pavelić attended a Jesuit school in Travnik and then the University of Zagreb. However, he is silent about the fact that Pavelić was married to a Jewess" [27].

However, we would hardly be interested in the circumstance of interethnic marriage if it were not for a number of circumstances that suggested the role of the family in the life of Pavelić, or rather, a high-status family that provided him with vertical mobility and getting into the political establishment of Zagreb. Pavelić's family could, judging by the details described in his biography, provide him with maximum work on the railway.

The general ethnic humiliation of the Croats in relation to the Serbs was aggravated by the fact that Pavelić, as a "Croat of the Croats," had to hide his own anti-Semitism by marrying a Jewish girl in 1922 and having three children from her. Why Pavelić needed this marriage, we, of course, can only speculate. The hypothesis of a marriage of convenience, for selfish reasons, seems to be quite reasonable, when, in the presence of a generalized attitude towards anti-Semitism, Pavelić became related to the Jewish family of Martin Lovrenčević. All this happened against the background of the assimilation of Starčević's pronouncedly anti-Semitic views, who assessed the Jews in a very unambiguous way.

Quite interesting for understanding the identity of Pavelić as a humiliated and marginalized Croat, forced to schizophrenia combine the anti-Semitism of A. Starčević with a marriage for selfish reasons with a Jewish girl, was also the fact that in his environment such interethnic marriages were widespread, which also increased the general diffusion of ethnic identities, deceit and double standards.

Schizophrenic-eclectic mix of the Gothic theory and the attribution of Bosnian Muslims to the carriers of "pure Croatian blood" [3, 149-150] and the descendants of Caucasians with interethnic marriages also managed to combine such well-known representatives of the Ustasha elite as the Germanophile Slavko Kvaternik, whose wife, Olga Frank, according to various versions, either she committed suicide, or she was killed by her own son, Evgen (Dido) Kvaternik. Slavko Kvaternik himself spoke quite clearly about his son's readiness to kill his own mother: "He was not my son, he was a monster capable of killing his mother" [48]. However, Mile Budak became the most odious in the propaganda ethnic schizophrenia of wild anti-Semitism and intercession for the wives of Pavelić's ministers, who entered into interethnic marriages with Jewish women the same as the leader himself. Budak himself accused the Jews of robbing the Croats, because, in his opinion, "... the Jews ruthlessly exploited people and accumulated wealth, sending large sums abroad in such a way that what was left with us was only the smallest part of the property of our people, which the Jews speculatively stole from him" [5].

On the other hand, the same Budak, at a trial in 1945, in every possible way denied the racial laws adopted in the NGH and emphasized his benevolence in recognizing the Aryan origin of "the legal wives of our comrades Dr. Milovan Džanich, Ivo Orsanich and Jure Pavčić" and Dr. David Karlovich, Djuro Koniga and the Mercadic family from Slavonski Brod", asked Pavelić to assist in the rescue and intervene in accordance with the "Regulation on Race" [38].

Racial inconsistency led to the appearance among the German Nazis of antipathetic Pavelić, who now and then "caught" the head of the state in violation of the racial laws he had adopted. Thus, the German envoy to the

Independent State of Croatia, Siegfried Kashe, revealed that Pavelić's wives, Mara Lovrenčević and Janic, Alma Steger, were Jewish. Ante Pavelić's mother-in-law, the mother of his wife Mara, was Ivana Hertzfeld, a Jewess born in Vienna [43].

Contextually and biographically, Pavelić's life appears not just as his private anomie, but reflects the ethnic anomie of the Croatian elites, their diffusion, splitting, fragmentation of identity between Austro-Hungarian (Catholic) and Muslim religious invasions, and the self-rejection of Slavic roots in inconsistent Serbophobia and anti-Semitism.

Pavelić's social identity. Being a native of a mountain village in Herzegovina, Pavelić spent his childhood and youth in a family of railway employees. The accelerated vertical mobility of the young man who came from the office, overcoming the social and territorial distance from the family of the railway worker from Bradina to the Zagreb Faculty of Law and the representative of the intellectual establishment looks simply fantastic. Such a breakthrough could only be carried out on the basis of a conscious careerist plan. Pavelić managed to climb up the career ladder and change his ethnic and social identity at the expense of the high-status Lavrenčević family. The social gap probably prompted Pavelić, in spite of his anti-Semitism, to be hypocritical both with his wife and with his father-in-law.

There is no reason to consider Pavelić's marriage as the result of ethnic indifference, since he was not only well versed in racial theories, but also moved in an appropriate ethnocentric environment. The very adaptation to this social environment, which had to be accompanied by a performance of external politeness and positivity, is presented as initially culturally pathetic and historically conditioned for the Croats as an ethnic group. Behavioral and socio-cultural theories of the etiology of schizophrenia allow us to consider the social environment of Pavelić as schizo-inducing. At the same time, by all indications, his entry into this environment was both conscious and voluntary.

Family and gender identity of Pavelić. Having an intellectual superiority to the Ustashe as criminal terrorists, Pavelić used ordinary linguistic manipulation, while despising the Ustashe themselves as succumbing to his tricks. A typical pattern of behavior for an antisocial psychopath is his tendency to "calculate" the mental weaknesses of others in order to use them for his own selfish interests. In relation to the Ustaše, as Ante Moškov notes, "Pavelić was a strong man, a charismatic man, which is quite fully described in an episode from the book in which he describes how the Chetnik general Djukić fanatically admired Pavelić, whom he described as a "great statesman", and the leader showed this enthusiasm for the Ustaše even after the war in exile. However, he towered over them as a representative of the intellectual elite.

The Machiavellian Pavelić used the liturgy to build his reputation as an exemplary Catholic Christian. It is clear that participation in such performance liturgies for Pavelić himself was an ordinary convention and ritual, initially profaned and designed for a hypocritical layman. R. Torre, commenting on the book "The Rise and Fall of Ante Pavelić," states that "Pavelić and Mara insisted that a Christian Catholic imprint be visible on their family life. Pavelić had a permanent chaplain – first the Franciscan Juric, and then the Franciscan Medich. He celebrated Mass every Sunday and the main feasts at Tushkanac, Rebre, and Novy Dvor, depending on where they were.

A portable altar was installed in one of the large rooms, and all members of the family were present, and also, perhaps, the guests and some of them took part in the service, while Pavelić himself personally served the priest at the altar (service). This fact in the eyes of many priests and devout believers (nominal Christians – Yu.R.) made a deep impression and played an important role in assessing the moral qualities of Pavelić and Marina" [36].

The glossy showcase image of a Catholic family behind the scenes was transformed by Pavelić into double standards of a ban on promiscuity among the Ustashe and allowing oneself to taste the forbidden fruits of extramarital hobbies with the wives of party members. So, Pavelić intervened in Colonel Seletkovich's novel, ordering his mistress to be taken out of Zagreb, and also sent some Ustaše to the front, who tried to allow "treason and immorality in marriage." The chief himself got involved in a "gallant adventure" with the wife of the Ustashe Minister of Culture Mile Budak. It is easy to guess what kind of believers we are talking about and what moral qualities are usually assessed when participating in such events against the backdrop of mutilated corpses floating along the Sava, infanticide and criminal lawlessness of disparate Ustashe gangs.

At the same time, as a representative of the South Slavic (and not at all Gothic or German) ethnos, Pavelić showed pronounced female dependence and succumbed to suggestion from his wife, who dominated him both ethnically and socially. Pavelić's marriage was mixed (interethnic) and socially unequal. His wife, Marina (Mara), was a Jewish woman from a socially prosperous and highly educated family. As Moshkov notes, the despot "blindly followed only his wife Mara, who, according to Slavko Kvaternik, "married him, and not he married her," because she was smarter than him and unmistakably noticed people with a strong character, whom she removed Pavelić from his entourage, leaving only slavish natures with him" [38].

Thus, Pavelić's family was, formally, ordinary nuclear monogamy, but in reality it was a combination of the wife's matriarchal dominance with the husband's cultural geishism/hetaerism, in which only submissive gender roles remained "vacant" for Pavelić.

The overwhelming overprotection of Mara Pavelić-Lovrenčević manifested itself, among other things, in the fact that she continuously controlled Pavelić's communications, showing in this aspect the usual matriarchal despotism. The Minister of Finance of Pavelić, V. Koshak, during the interrogation of the UDB (security services of communist Yugoslavia during the Tito period – J.R.) admitted that Pavelić's meetings with any audience and with any report did not take place without a call from his wife. According to Koshak, Mara showed some kind of pathological sexual inclinations in relations with Pavelić, which was reflected in the necrophilia and despotism of the leader himself [40].

The gender passification of the leader on his part (as an unstable psychopath) took the form of acting out and was replicated by the Ustashe. The technologies of genocide invented by Poglavnik and his entourage are marking for socio-historical losers and impotents. We have reason to assume that one of the factors of Pavelić's pronounced necrophilia/sadism was his sexual impotence, which was accompanied by daily drunkenness and beatings of Mara, who hid at Mile Budak during the period of anger of the chief. The logical continuation of sexual impotence, physical abuse, alcoholism and necrophilic fantasies was Pavelić's malignant narcissism both towards

ethnic minorities who were made scapegoats and towards the Ustaše themselves.

According to A. Burazer, the only people whom Pavelić idolized were Mussolini (who, as the author aptly puts it, held Pavelić "by the testicles") and his wife Mara. As a typical political and criminal homosexual and a "victim" of gender passification, Pavelić compensated for his own ethnic, social and family humiliation with the opportunities provided by Mussolini's government. He himself led a luxurious lifestyle, his children received a prestigious education in Florence, while the Ustaše living in a military camp, used by the Machiavellian Pavelić as "containers for minced lead", were content with a salary of one lira per day [39].

Pavelić not only despised the Ustaše organized by him like cattle, but also actively demonstrated this in senseless sacrifices. So, he sent them to certain death during the uprising in Velebit, which was followed by repression by the Italian authorities. The only goal pursued by him was ... a demonstration of loyalty to Mussolini. As the Ustaše S. Kvaternik would later say, "now, when I later look at the Velebit uprising, knowing who and what Pavelić is, I am convinced that he undertook this reckless enterprise at the request of Mussolini in order to justify the survival of the Ustaše legion or organization before the start of the war" [39].

Moshkov, among other things, expresses his own disappointment with Mara's attitude towards the Croats: "Moshkov... quotes the words, "two women from the entourage of Pavelić and Marina (Dora Werner and Balenica) from the lips of Marina, in the presence of Pavelić, heard the most derogatory expressions against the Croatian people, whom she called "garbage", "cattle..."... "Mara spoke this way several times. As soon as Balenica resisted her a little, she began to compare the Croats with the Italians, emphasizing and extolling the latter as the best, most noble and cultured people, but she said the opposite about the Croats. At that time, in front of Dora Werner and Balenica, she began to assert that her husband (then no longer calling him the leader) and she herself "sacrificed" themselves for the Croatian people, but this people never deserved anyone's sacrifice, ... he was backward, an insidious, perfidious people who do not know what freedom is, and that is why they could neither value nor defend freedom, that Croats feel good only in slavery. Pavelić was present at the words of Marina, but he did not try to refute his wife..." [40].

Conclusions. In Catholic clericalism, the philosophy and ideology of Pan-Croatism, Pavelić's primitive psychopathy manifested itself as a combination of ephemeral omnipotent control and magical thinking, contaminated with emotions of hatred towards Serbian hegemony in Austria-Hungary. Permanently divided by Austrians and Hungarians, Serbs and Croats, as two South Slavic communities, showed counter xenophobia, which, in the case of Pavelić and his entourage, was based on a pure falsification of the history of the Balkans. In this story, the living space occupied by the Croats, as well as the cultural influence, was somewhat inferior to both the first and the second among the Serbs. The Serbian problem was supposed to be solved by Pavelić ... by a simple nullification of the Serbs. However, the usual "industrial" destruction of a hostile ethnic group clearly did not suit the despot.

His primitive psychopathy, heavily contaminated with emotions, suggested, on the one hand, excessive cruelty and frightening destructiveness, and, on the other hand, pathological deceit in its denial. The Serbs had to first be presented as poisonous snakes and a fiend, and then, by

spreading this ethnic image, to legitimize the cruelest sophisticated violence against them [42].

On the other hand, already in the 1920s and 1930s, the Ustash movement was replenished mainly by people from lower social groups and poor regions. As S. Belyakov notes in his monograph, "the main source of replenishment of the Ustasha ranks was the Croatian workers (who came from both workers and peasant families, as well as from the families of fishermen and sailors), who were in other countries on earnings ... Very indicative regional composition of the Ustaše. According to the Yugoslav secret services, in the late 1930s, three-fifths of the Ustaše who were in Italy were natives of Herzegovina, Southwestern Bosnia and Dalmatian Zagorje. All these lands were poor, backward and, moreover, multi-ethnic, and in the context of the parallel development of nationalist ideologies among Serbs and Croats, multi-ethnic areas became both a "forge of personnel" for nationalist movements and an arena for future interethnic clashes" [3, 180].

Pavelić's ethnopolitics, genocidal rhetoric towards the Serbs, as well as the encouraged practices of serbicide reveal pronounced despotism, necrophilia, a steady predominance of destructive hatred and envy towards ethnic competitors, as well as his real attitude towards the Ustaše, who he left to the mercy of fate at the mercy of the communists. When fleeing Croatia with all the loot, reveals his significant moral defectiveness, as well as gives grounds to interpret it as a derivative of the corresponding cultural and sociopathic identity.

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АНТЕ ПАВЕЛИЧ: ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ КУЛЬТУРОПАТІЇ ТА СОЦІОПАТІЇ ІДЕНТИЧНОСТІ (ВІЗУАЛЬНО-АНАЛІТИЧНИЙ ПОРТРЕТ). ЧАСТИНА 1

Метою статті є візуально-аналітичне зображення особистості Анте Павелича в контексті культурної та соціосистемологічної теорії культурних патологій та соціопатій ідентичності. У результаті дослідження було зроблено висновок, що етнополітика Павелича, геноцидарна риторика щодо сербів, а також заохочена практика сербциду виявляють яскраво виражений деспотизм, некрофілію, стійке переважання афективної деструктивної ненависті та заздрості до сербів як етнічних конкурентів, а також його справжнє ставлення до усташи, відданих на волю долі комуністам під час втечі з Хорватії з усім награваним, виявляє його значну моральну хибність, а також дає підстави трактувати це як похідне від відповідних культурних патологій і соціопатій ідентичності.

Ключові слова: ідентичність, культурно-соціальна системологія, візуальна аналітика, соціологія міжнародних відносин, культурні патології ідентичності, соціопатії ідентичності.